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Nations as at present organized, he was, nevertheless, in favor of the United States becoming a member of the International Court of Justice. At present there is, indeed, one American judge, John Bassett Moore, a member of the Court of Justice; but America has not ratified the statute. Scott called the attention to a letter of the American Secretary of State, Hughes, dated July 22, 1922, according to which the accession of the United States to the statute of the Court of Justice can be obtained only if they are given the opportunity to participate in the election of the judges. This election takes place in the session of the League and of the Council of the League of Nations, in which the United States, as non-members, do not participate. Scott was of the opinion that it would advance the movement leading to the participation of America in the Court of Justice if the Institute, in virtue of its high moral authority, should express the wish that all States not members of the League of Nations should become members of the Court of Justice and participate in its organization and proceedings. Whereupon the Institute passed a resolution to that effect.

On the classification of justiciable disputes Phillip Marshall Brown and Politis had submitted a report which, in the absence of the former, was presented by Politis only. Therein was specified that an enumeration of conflicts of a purely legal and of a non-legal nature seemed to be impossible. Nevertheless, a system of obligatory jurisdiction was proposed according to which, as a matter of principle, all conflicts of a legal nature should be referred to the Permanent International Court of Justice, while the opponent be permitted to raise the objection that a political question was involved, if (1) a generally recognized rule of international law was lacking, (2) if the conflict could not be settled without taking into account the general principles of justice and equity, and (3) if it was a question of interests. In the first case, the Permanent Court of Justice, upon the appeal of one party, should decide by a two-thirds majority; in the two other cases the decision must be unanimous as to whether such an exception does or does not exist.

The President of the Permanent Court of Justice, Loder, objected to this motion. He pointed out that the principal business must be to ratify the protocol conferring obligatory jurisdiction on the Court. He was afraid that the new proposal would furnish the States with the desired excuse to avoid the ratification of the protocol. He furthermore pointed out that the motion presupposed a change in the statute of the Court of Justice; that it was a step backward from the ground taken by the protocol on obligatory jurisdiction.

Max Huber intended to take Loder's formal objections into account by moving that not the Permanent Court of Justice, but a tribunal *ad hoc*, should decide the preliminary questions of the existence of the three exceptions. The compromise, however, was voted down by the meeting. The fundamental idea of Politis' motion, finally, received the approval of the Institute. However, the three objections were considered to be arbitrary, and the meeting restricted itself to the general statement that the opposing party could raise the objection that the conflict was not of a legal nature, and that on this the Court of Justice would have to render a decision; that

the objection could be rejected with two-thirds majority. Doubts were expressed against the stipulation of a two-thirds majority, since the States would see a guarantee against a wrong decision only in the necessity of a unanimous rejection. The outvoted members of the Institute made reservations on this account. The value of the resolution of the Institute is doubtful after all, since an accurate definition of the nature of the legal or non-legal conflict has not been attempted.

Several speakers advocated the discussion of new problems for the next sessions—*e. g.*, Urrutia that of martial law, Count Rastworowski that of mediation. Professor Mercier moved that the questions of the international position of the societies as well as the questions of proceedings in courts of arbitration, especially of revision, should soon be discussed.

The sessions were accompanied by a series of festivities—for instance, two automobile excursions to Le Grand Chartreux monastery and the Lautaret glacier, in the Dauphine Alps. In this way the members were given the most agreeable opportunity to get into personal touch.

Baron Rolin-Jaequyns presented the invitation of the Belgian Government to hold the Congress in Brussels next year and to combine with it the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Institute.

MOVING TOWARD A GOVERNED WORLD

By LEO PASVOLSKY

IT SEEMS a truism to say, in this year of Grace, that the war of 1914-18 had wrought changes in the life of the world which are so far-reaching as to be almost immeasurable. And yet the sheer magnitude and penetration of these changes sometimes render their clear visualization most difficult. Only outstanding events, involving huge issues, opening up new possibilities, lending shape and color to developments which are universally felt, but are as yet almost nebulous, bring to a focus the realization of some of these changes. Such focusing events in the life of the world have been the Washington Conference and the two Conferences in Europe held during the last few months. They have brought out in more or less sharp relief some of the most prominent and vitally significant problems which humanity faces as a result of the war and its aftermath.

The four-year conflict of nations was not a worldwide affair when it began. It assumed that character only in the course of its development. And while this process was going on indelible transformations were being wrought in some of the most fundamental relations of nationally organized human life.

Roughly speaking, prior to the war the world was divided into three great continental groups. Europe was the internationally active continent; its great powers determined the policies and the actions of the world. Asia was the internationally passive continent, the arena of an active competition among the great European powers. America was a continent of traditional isolation, its strength still untried, its forces and resources still untested by international experience. The

war affected each of these three great continental groups internally and has brought them into a new relationship as among themselves.

The armed conflict among the nations of Europe came about as an inevitable result of the cleavage which had developed among them during the quarter of a century preceding the war, and which was stimulated powerfully by Germany's undisguised bid for a position of hegemony. But before this encounter proceeded very far the other two great continental groups found themselves intimately involved in it. This was especially true, of course, of America, for its participation has been so intimate as to be determining.

The really spectacular feature of the war lay in its geography. By the time the war had assumed its truly world-wide character the whole earth became divided into two hostile camps. Running athwart the central portion of Europe and into the Near East, from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, was one of these camps. The rest of the earth was the other camp, surrounding the first with a ring of fire.

Partly because of this geographical peculiarity, but even more so because of the character which the process of waging war had assumed, each of these camps gradually came to have the appearance of an economic unit. New forms of international co-ordination and correlation of economic and human forces came into existence. National boundaries were for the time being forgotten in some of the most essential regards. All the energies of the two camps were bent toward a process of mutual destruction. And when the war came to end, the nations of the world came out of the daze of the all-pervading struggle faintly realizing that while all that was going on, a new world had shaped itself around them.

The conduct of the war resolved itself for each of the combatant groups into organizing itself as a centrally governed entity, so far as the utilization of its resources for the purposes of the war was concerned. And since the war was truly a conflict of armed nations, almost every phase of human life had to be utilized. Thus we had, in effect, the whole world divided essentially into two governed parts. It is true, that this condition, brought into existence in the stress of the struggle, rapidly seemed to disappear when the pressure of that stress was removed. But its disappearance has proven to be merely illusory.

II

The war has made many important changes in the political map of the world. This has come about very largely as a result of a process of national differentiation, to which the conflict itself gave a powerful impetus. Each of the national entities that subordinated itself to the scheme of the correlation and co-ordination of forces which made possible the conduct of the war expected changes in its own status as a result of the war. And many of these changes took place. New national States became established in central and southern Europe. The boundaries of almost all the old States had to be redrawn. The British overseas dominions acquired as a result of the war a status closely approximating nationhood. The British Empire became articulate as a federation of States rather than as Great Britain proper. The United States projected herself upon a world scale,

probably never to retract. Japan acquired a new position as one of the world's greatest powers, her claim to this position no longer a matter of dispute from the point of view of race or color. All these are some of the changes wrought by the war.

These changes have served the purpose of swiftly demonstrating a very fundamental fact in the life of the world. Before the war, there was a more or less clearly defined economic balance in the world. Within the boundaries of each of the existing national States, a relation had become established as far as its internal play of productive forces was concerned, as well as its intercourse with other national States. The war has irrevocably destroyed this balance by redrawing national boundaries and reallocating basic economic resources. It has dislocated the complex of economic relations throughout the world by drawing imperatively upon the whole earth, irrespective of national boundaries, for the resources which were needed for its conduct. It made a return to the old balance impossible and rendered a new balance necessary.

The creation of this new balance is complicated by the play of a number of psychological factors potently operative in the process of national differentiation. The natural tendency in the process, stimulated by rivalries and animosities of old standing, as well as by a reaction to the condition of co-ordination imposed by the stress of the war, is in the direction of a return to a balance within national boundaries—i. e., in the final analysis, to isolation. But the years following the war have shown conclusively that reconstruction is impossible under such circumstances, for it would be a process of such wastefulness and difficulty as to imperil the very bases of civilization itself. For four years the world was banded together for the purpose of destroying the achievements of generations of human toil and endeavor. It now finds itself face to face with the need of banding together again for the purpose of rebuilding upon as vast a scale.

Intrinsically, the process of national differentiation has in it the seeds of great beneficence. It removes many political and cultural grievances. It releases the creative powers of the liberated nation or race for productive endeavor; and there is no doubt that these advantages can be preserved, while at the same time the world passes through a process of economic integration, forming itself into a unit composed of distinct entities. In other words, the advantages of both national differentiation and economic integration may be preserved if our world becomes a truly governed world.

The idea of a governed world is not new in the history of mankind, but it was not until the processes of the World War had demonstrated its feasibility that it ceased to be a dream and approached reality. At the end of the war the realization of the true significance of the process of reconstruction which the whole world now faces brought about a visualization of what seemed to be an inevitability of translating this idea into the terms of actual practicalities. But this visualization was obscured by psychological reactions, and only the hard economic facts of the war's aftermath have begun to dispel the obscuring factors and bring out again in sharp relief the necessity of such an application of the idea; perhaps the greatest value of the Washington Con-

ference has been in the fact that it demonstrated clearly the possibility of such an application.

For more than two and a half centuries preceding the World War, since the termination of the Thirty Years' War and the consequent emergence in Europe of national States, the question of the peace of the world has been one of maintaining such a balance of power among the important States of Europe as would prevent them from making war on each other. The peace of the world, in other words, depended primarily on whether or not the nations of Europe found a way to preserve peace among themselves. The rest of the earth did not count; the "Concert of Europe" was the outstanding feature of the whole international situation.

This concert assumed different configurations in accordance with unfolding events; but it did not prevent wars on a vast scale. In spite of its existence, two separate and distinct attempts were made during this period to make a bid for world dominion—the French attempt at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and the German attempt at the beginning of the twentieth.

The principle on which the idea of the balance of power was based was that of a fairly equal distribution of forces between two groups of nations on the continent of Europe. It was almost exclusively political in its scope. Whatever success it has had in the way of intermittently providing an agency for preserving peace has been, probably, due to the fact that it operated in conditions of economic development which were quite primitive as compared with those of the world today. The system based on this principle did not have to take into account the outstanding problems of economics, which are at the very basis of present-day civilization.

III

It is highly significant that the World War ended with the enunciation of two complete, though diametrically opposed, schemes of world government. Both were announced in the course of the first six months following the war; both attempted to deal with the world situation as determined by its economics, as well as its politics. The first of these schemes was the League of Nations, given to the world by the Peace Conference in Paris. The second was the Third, or Communist, International, brought into existence at the first World Congress of Communist Groups, held in Moscow in March, 1919.

The basic idea of the League of Nations, as embodied in its covenant, is the recognition of the sanctity of national boundaries. The League conceives of the world as made up of a number of sovereign States which have reached the maturity of nationhood, or self-government, and of a number of undeveloped States which have not as yet reached this maturity. The sovereign States are the members of the League; the undeveloped States become the wards of the League. In certain respects the League endows its members with equality before the bar of its own creation, irrespective of their size or relative importance. It provides a kind of machinery for the preservation of peace and well-being among these sovereign States and for the protection and guardianship over the undeveloped States.

Essentially, the League of Nations is organized on the same principles as a national State. The spirit of its organization is actuated by an attempt to establish

an arrangement that would govern the conduct of all its members and determine its own actions. The apparatus for the enactment of its behests—*i. e.*, the quasi-legislative body of the League—is an assembly of the representatives of its members. Each national delegation in this assembly has one vote, thus establishing equality as among the member States. The assembly meets at regular intervals. All decisions of the assembly, barring a few specifically provided exceptions, must be by the unanimous consent of all the members.

The quasi-executive functions of the League are vested in a council, which consists of nine members. Each of the five great powers signatory to the covenant—*i. e.*, the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan—is entitled to a representative on the council. The other four members are representatives of the smaller powers, chosen by the assembly of the League. The council meets at least once every year, and again each of the States represented has one vote. The council has a right to deal "with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world."

The League of Nations proceeds on the basis of tactics commonly known as "one for all and all for one." In any wars which may occur while the League is in existence, there are no belligerents and no neutrals; there are only members of the League and non-members. Every nation, therefore, waging war upon any member of the League is considered as at war with the whole League. A war between any two nations, both of which are not members of the League, is considered an offense against the peace of the world and consequently also within the scope of action by the League.

Besides the ordinary channels of diplomacy, the League provides two other means of settling international disputes. The first is by arbitration, and the second by a commission of inquiry. Whenever a member of the League breaks the pledge to use arbitration or conciliation, or disregards the awards given as a result of such mediation, the League shall consider such a power an enemy of the whole League. The covenant provides four means of redress against such recalcitrant nations. The first is economic boycott; the second is the cessation of all intercourse; the third is a blockade; and the fourth any other means recommended by the council to the member States. The possibility of coercing States by force of arms is in the background, but it is there, nevertheless.

The League undertakes to preserve the territorial integrity and the national sovereignty of each of its member States. Thus it gives group sanction to the process of national differentiation that set in so prominently immediately after the termination of the war; but at the same time it provides for international action on questions involving the whole world, such as the matter of armament, disease, freedom of transit, and equality of trade. In this manner it aims to render possible amicable and free economic intercourse among the various States.

Taken in its broad implications, the League, for the first time in actual practice of international action, brings together most of the great continental groups. The European balance of power ceases to be the outstanding and determining factor in the life of the earth.

A world equilibrium, operating under a definite system and in terms of actual machinery, it is hoped by its promoters, may now take its place. In a world which had just gone through the process of such utter destruction as to imperil the very bases of its civilization, the League of Nations appeared as an attempt to repair and render again operative this impaired foundation of the world's civilization.

IV

As over against this conception of world reconstruction we have a diametrically opposed one embodied in the Third International and expressed in the various pronouncements of its executive committee. The Third International visualizes the world, not as consisting of separate and distinct national entities, but as one single entity, so far as its basic political and economic features are concerned. It does not seek to create an association of States, but a single State. It does not wish to preserve national boundaries, but to obliterate them. Strictly speaking, it has no right to the use of the word "international"; that word is more applicable to the idea represented by the League of Nations. The correct expression of the idea represented by the Third International would be "supernational."

The Third International thus definitely challenges the whole idea of the national State. But its challenge goes much further. It declares the whole fabric of civilization as it exists today founded upon a wrong basis. It wishes to change the whole complex of political, social, and economic relations and to substitute an entirely new system in its place. Its aim is, therefore, first revolutionary, and then constructive. And the machinery which it provides reflects entirely these basic characteristics.

Just as the League of Nations in its organizations reflects the spirit of the national States for which it serves as an association, so the Third International reflects in its structure and organization the idea of the Soviet State, which it is intended to establish all over the world to supplant the existing system of national States.

The Soviet State is the expression of the dictatorship of the Communist Party. It is built on the lines of unified hierarchical control of the great masses of the people by a small, determined minority. The masses are considered exclusively as operating units in the great scheme of economic production. These units are brought together into so-called productive unions, representing various occupations. The political expression of the masses is achieved through councils, or Soviets, under a system of pyramiding of power which is so efficient that a small, determined group of super-individuals can easily control the whole system. This small group of super-individuals is the Communist Party.

The Communist Party is defined by its leaders as the most advanced and class-conscious minority of the proletariat. It is a closed, self-perpetuating organization, with exclusive and limited membership. It has complete authority within the Soviet State. This is its rôle during the revolution. After the revolution shall have been accomplished, it promises to dissolve itself in the newly established order, but naturally sets up no machinery whereby such dissolution or the disappearance

of its extraordinary functions may be effected and guaranteed.

The scheme of world organization worked out by the Third International is based on the creation in each of the existing countries of a Communist Party. In the countries which have not as yet passed through the process of a social revolution, the object of this party should be the organization of such a revolution. In the countries in which the revolution had already taken place, the object of the party is to control the government established there as a result of the revolution.

Each of these parties sends representatives to a world congress of the Third International, held at stated intervals and constituting the highest governing body of the world organization. The congress determines policies and action and passes on all matters relating to the world Communist movement. It elects an executive committee, consisting of fifteen members, which acts as the highest authority in the intervals between the meetings of the congress itself. Five members of the executive committee come from the country in which the congress is held. The others represent, one for each, the remaining ten important countries of the world.

The separate Communist parties are pledged to implicit obedience to the executive committee in all matters, even those most intimately concerned with their local problems. Whenever such a party is in control of a government, it is bound to place all the resources of that government at the disposal of the Third International. It and the country over which it rules merely become a department of the Third International, held by it on terms of complete allegiance and unquestioning obedience.

V

These are the two schemes of world government proposed after the termination of the war. It is easily seen that they are mutually exclusive, since they are based on diametrically opposed fundamental principles. Neither of them has become nearly world-wide in its scope of operation. For those of us who are not willing to assent to the basic challenge made by Communism, the scheme proposed by the Third International must necessarily present a much more remote possibility than that proposed by the League of Nations. It would seem, therefore, quite proper for us in this connection to set aside the Third International idea and center our attention on the reasons why the League of Nations has not become established in all of the territory not controlled by the Third International—i. e., practically the whole of the world, outside of Russia.

Of the great powers of the world, only the United States and Germany are not members of the League. The absence of Germany is quite easily explained, as a result of the war. Moreover, it is not of as vital importance as the absence of the United States, which is a more complicated question and is really a matter of life and death, so far as an effective operation of the League is concerned.

To the extent to which Woodrow Wilson dominated the work of drafting its covenant, the League of Nations may be considered eminently as an American contribution; but it represents, as was shown by the events subsequent to its creation, only one definite tendency in

America with regard to an international organization of the world. There is another tendency, just as definite and, as it happens, more powerful. This tendency found its negative expression in the defeat of the League of Nations during the last presidential election and gave us its first positive expression in the form of the Washington Conference.

The London *Journal of Comparative Legislation* for January, 1921, published an article by Mr. George W. Pepper, of Philadelphia, now the United States Senator from Pennsylvania. This article, also printed in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* for March, 1921, contained what is, perhaps, the clearest and most concise adverse analysis of the League of Nations as established in Paris in 1919, and it seems of pertinent interest at the present time to survey this analysis.

The general indictment of the League contained in Mr. Pepper's analysis is that it is an agency of coercion, rather than an instrument of conciliation. This indictment is based upon the following formulation of the ideal embodied by the League, as given by President Wilson:

"There is only one way to assure the world of peace: that is by making it so dangerous to break the peace that no other nation will have the audacity to attempt it."

With this as its ideal, contends Mr. Pepper, the League simply becomes a "coercive alliance." Now, such an alliance, in order to be effective, must have at its disposal an available force to carry out its decisions; for "an alliance with an adequate force at its disposal is necessarily a super-State; an alliance which depends for its force upon the response of member States is in effect a super-State if they respond, and an impotent failure if they do not." As an alternate for a "league of coercion," the analysis we are quoting proposes a "league for conference and conciliation."

Mr. Pepper's analysis assumes special interest if we consider it in connection with a document which seems to be of outstanding importance when viewed in the light of the work of the Washington Conference. This document is a resolution adopted by the American Peace Society at its ninety-third annual meeting, held in Washington on May 27, 1921, at the time when the idea of the Washington Conference had already quite taken form.

The resolution begins by establishing three fundamental principles of international action. The first is that a voluntary union of nations can be effective only if "the rules of conduct governing individual relations between citizens or subjects of a civilized State are equally applicable as between enlightened nations." The second is that international law established on this basis must be with relation to "the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety." The third is that these two concepts constitute the essence of "justice," which must be "a chief concern of nations."

On the basis of these fundamental principles the resolution proposes the institution of conferences of nations, which are to meet at stated intervals. These conferences are intended "to restate and amend, reconcile and clarify, extend and advance, the rules of international law which are indispensable to the permanent

establishment and the successful administration of justice between and among nations."

The resolution further proposes the convocation of a "conference for the advancement of international law." All nations which recognize, accept, and apply international law may be invited to this conference on a footing of equality. This conference is expected to establish an administrative council which shall consist of the diplomatic representatives accredited to the government of the State in which the conference itself shall have convened.

This administrative council, the president of which would be the minister of foreign affairs of the country in which the conference convenes, would be a permanent body, with a specially appointed permanent secretariat.

Besides the administrative council, the conference should also create a council of conciliation, for purposes of arbitration, with the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague as the court of last appeal. Finally, an international court of justice should be established by the conference, and it should be endowed with obligatory jurisdiction.

By means of all this, it is hoped that an "international mind" shall be created, as well as "enlightened public opinion, which shall persuade in the future, where force has failed to compel in the past, the observance of those standards of honor, morality, and justice which obtain between and among individuals."

VI

The Washington Conference, as far as both its spirit and its procedure were concerned, was directly in line with the proposals of this resolution. It gave promises of conferences in the future, and, perhaps, the time will come for the convocation of a "conference for the advancement of international law" proposed by the resolution and clearly foreshadowed by the Washington Conference, and the creation of all the elaborate machinery described in the resolution of the American Peace Society. That would be an association of nations of the kind of which we have heard so much since the defeat of the League of Nations.

It may seem doubtful whether an organization for world government, based exclusively on purely juristic principles, would be effective in the highly complex politico-economic condition of the present-day world which we sketched at the beginning of this article. It remains to be seen how the two tendencies in the United States will be reconciled, and what sort of a resultant we shall have as an outcome of such a reconciliation. It seems quite evident that the continuation of the League of Nations, as established in Paris, is unlikely, with or without the participation of the United States; but it seems also quite apparent that something more tangible must be added to a juristic League for Conciliation, in order to make it a truly effective factor along the lines of international action, which the world needs so badly at the present time.

Modern means of communication are fast knitting the world together and making possible the creation of something that approaches an international mind. The pressure of economic developments pushes the countries of the world toward some system of co-ordinated action. The need of world peace impregnates more and more the

minds of men with a determination to have peace. All this spells the inevitability of a world government. Slowly and tortuously, but unmistakably and surely, we are moving toward a governed world.

THE AMERICAN RED CROSS

By DR. THOMAS E. GREEN

Director Speaking Service

BEGINNING on November 11, Armistice Day, and continuing through the month, the American National Red Cross will conduct its annual membership roll-call. This is not an appeal for funds, although in certain communities special appeals will be made in behalf of local operations. It is rather the re-enrollment of the volunteer membership that under the provisions of the congressional Red Cross charter and in accordance with the Treaty of Geneva constitutes the organization.

The Red Cross must be of necessity a volunteer organization. It is called upon to undertake and carry forward work that in its very nature partakes of hazard—work to which the government can only assign its citizens when they have come under the control of its naval or military authority. These duties are specifically to render volunteer aid to the sick and wounded in time of war; to constitute and keep open a channel of communication between the American people and the men of their army and navy in time of peace; to render national and international relief in mitigating the sufferings caused by pestilence, famine, fire, floods, and other great national calamities, and to devise and carry on means for preventing the same.

AGENCY OF GOVERNMENT

By virtue of its charter, enacted by Congress in 1905, the American National Red Cross is a governmental agency. The method of its organization and co-operation is distinctly defined. In its contact with the service men of the country it must act in strict accord with the naval and military authorities. Its receipts and expenditures are continually under the audit of the War Department, and through the Secretary of War it must make an annual report of all its activities to the Congress of the United States. It is not, therefore, merely a philanthropic or benevolent organization, authorized to raise money and expend it in ways of its own choosing. It is rather a governmental agency made up of those who choose to enroll themselves as members, but designated to do a work which the government itself cannot do without the creating of a vast personnel and the expenditure of prohibitive amounts of money. Because the Red Cross membership comes from every part of the country and because it is represented by its chapters in practically every community, large and small, it can carry forward its work in a way that the government could not do. But the appeal to the people to further and support its work is the appeal of the government itself and rests not merely upon the dictates of humanitarian benevolence, but upon patriotic loyalty to the government, which is striving to effect the greatest good for the greatest number.

CARE OF VETERANS

During the past year the American Red Cross has gone steadily forward with the work that devolved upon it. By an expenditure of more than nine millions of dollars it has cared for the disabled ex-service men of the nation and their families, ministering to the more than thirty thousand disabled men who are under treatment in government hospitals throughout the land—helping them adjust their claims, aiding in their vocational training for future usefulness and independent activity, caring for their families while they are absent from home, and, in the language of the resolution adopted by the American Legion at its recent meeting in New Orleans, “continuing to show itself a good neighbor and a faithful friend.”

During the past year seventy-two disasters, scattered over the length and breadth of the nation, have appealed to the Red Cross for relief. These calamities have been mostly the result of fire and flood, the nation having been providentially spared from the menace of epidemic and pestilence. Nearly one million and a half dollars have been expended in disaster relief during the last fiscal year.

Mindful of the revelation of the selective draft, which showed that 35 per cent of our young men were physically incapacitated for military service, the American Red Cross has been bending its efforts, in co-operation with Federal and State agencies, for the betterment of the public health. It has established more than thirteen hundred trained public health nurses under the direction of local Red Cross chapters, largely women who, having served as Red Cross nurses during the war, have prepared themselves for this work by intensive training. Their duty is largely educational—instructing classes in home hygiene and care of the sick, dietetics, child welfare, and other things that have to do with the community betterment.

INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITY

In the field where accident takes so large a toll of human life, the American Red Cross is carrying forward a work of practical education in first aid and life-saving which has been so successful that many railroad companies and manufacturing and mining corporations have organized their employees into classes for training under Red Cross direction.

With a membership of more than five million children, the Junior Red Cross is working in connection with the schools, not only for the training of the Red Cross of tomorrow, but for the instilling into the minds of the children of the paramount value of a life of unselfish service. In constant contact by correspondence with the children of war-devastated lands overseas, the Junior organization has built up a spirit of mutual confidence and sympathy among the children of the world. It does not need a prophet's vision to see the priceless value of such contact. Nothing can go farther toward insuring peace and brotherhood among the men of tomorrow than the training of the childhood of today along the lines for which the spirit of the Red Cross stands.

Just at the present moment a new summons has come to the American Red Cross, as the great calamity in